

# PEACE NEWS

No. 224

SEPTEMBER 27, 1940

2d.

## Respite Finem

**W**E make no claim to expert military knowledge; but it seems plain that the situation of Britain is pretty precarious. We are accustomed to make light of the military power and efficiency of Italy—we are accustomed, indeed, to make light of many things that are no longer trifles in this changing world—but the obvious fact is that the Italians are advancing methodically into Egypt, that the Egyptians have not declared war against them, and that the vital communications of the British Empire are in grave jeopardy. Meanwhile, Senor Suner, who ought to know, is at pains to assure the world that Spain, like Italy before her, is only waiting for the moment to come in.

We won the last war by the skin of our teeth. We had France, Russia, America and Italy on our side. Today we are absolutely alone; the alliances are on the other side. That our policy, from Versailles onward, has been suicidally foolish and unprincipled was largely due to our entire refusal to admit that, even with our tremendous allies, we only just scraped home in 1918. From that derived, in part, our still more serious refusal to admit that the Germans had fought an heroic fight. We treated them like dirt, although we had won mainly by the grinding effect of our blockade upon the civilian population: which was, at best, not a very heroic way of winning a European war.

Once upon a time, the British confidence in victory was an asset. Other things being equal, the side which believes it must win, does win. But the other things have to be equal, or near it. When confidence in victory takes the place of the effort to determine what is realistically possible, the former asset becomes a liability. It begins to look as though we had lived too long in security to be capable of political realism. We have come to regard the advantages of our island-position as the product of an inherent moral superiority. We have taken it for granted that we shall always come out on top in the end. We have conveniently forgotten that it was not until well on in the 18th century that we emerged from the rank of a second-rate power. By that time we had stolen a march on Europe. While its substance was being devastated by the

(continued on page 3)

## WILFRED WELLOCK

*points to the danger of*

# BLUNDERING INTO A BLIND PEACE

**I** HAVE repeatedly stated that a totalitarian European was the logical outcome of the social exploitation of capitalism; that social privilege and class domination lead inevitably to a totalitarian society.

That fact is fundamental and should be proclaimed daily from the house-tops. It follows that the renunciation of these evils is an indispensable condition of the survival of democracy.

But the stark fact is that the possessors of class privilege and power are unwilling to pay the price of democracy, and indeed are hoping, at whatever cost, to salvage the maximum of their financial, social and political power from the wreckage of war. That, we must conclude, is their primary peace aim. But since it would be impossible to proclaim that aim officially, no definite peace aims are likely to be published by any capitalist government. The peace aims that are necessary to save democracy depend upon a revolutionary change of mind and outlook of which there is as yet no sign.

### Why War Came

This war is not the product of one man or one nation, but of an ever-deepening conflict between the interests of humanity and those of class: the former demand the fullest home and world co-operation; the latter are the antithesis of co-operation.

Unless class and imperial domination be wholly renounced and the well-being of humanity placed before privilege, the declared objects of the war cannot be realized, while those who support the war will ensure the realization of the very horrors they denounce. Thus so long as we lack specific guar-

antees that social exploitation is to cease and that the human person and human relations are to be more highly esteemed than riches, we shall know that Britain's real aim in the war is the maximum entrenchment of British vested interests.

Vague promises about a better future, the saving of democracy and of the priceless heritage of liberty, are sounding brass beside the hard facts of class domination from which so far there has been no retreat. Every war is laden with such promises, and the Versailles Peace is the classic example of their tragic hollowness. If Britain is ready to pay the price of democracy why does she hesitate to proclaim the fact when millions of lives and the welfare of continents are at stake?

### Democracy Needs Vision

After the present collapse European democracy can exist only on two conditions, that it abolishes class distinction and operates co-operatively as a vast economic unit. Definite steps towards such a Europe are the only effective challenge which Britain can give to the Europe that Hitler, or Hitler plus Stalin, will otherwise set up.

A time like the present, which for good or evil will change the destiny of the crumbling civilization of capitalism, should be guided and inspired by a challenging vision, a plan fortified by unparalleled sacrifice—of class privilege, imperial monopoly, and national sovereignty. But no such steps are being taken by Britain today, and the world knows that the vague Christian phrases used by Lord Halifax recently have in the past condoned the very evils that are driving the world to red ruin.

It is this blundering into a blind peace which makes the present situation so utterly hopeless, and in due course will drive the bewildered masses of Britain and of Europe, who are looking for a way of escape from the present maelstrom and from totalitarian thralldom, into despair and revolution.

### Britain's Fatal Weakness

The fatal weakness of Britain today is the moral collapse of all but a remnant of its progressive forces and their blind acceptance of a blind peace to follow the war. Both Labour and the Church are backing the war without any guarantee that one single necessary step towards its vaguely expressed aims will be taken by the Government when the conflict is over.

Before Labour joined the Government it demanded an immediate and forthright declaration of peace aims. Today its spokesmen in the Government give precisely the replies to such demands for which it then condemned the Government. On November 28 last Mr. Attlee said in the House of Commons:

"It is important that we should think of our Peace Aims, that we should have a picture in our minds of the kind of world we want; that we should consider the principles under which we want the new world to be built, and not less important, what are the practical steps that must be taken to realize that new world. . . . We want a clear statement of Peace Aims. . . . to rally world opinion to our support, and we want to bring home to the German people what kind of a world it is we are asking them to live in when they cease their aggression. . . ."

## KEEP IT UP!

**R**EADERS have done nobly this week. They have given the kind of response we expect from them. During the last week £51 0s. 5d. has been received for the Fighting Fund, bringing the total to £435 3s. 6d. Well done!

Quite a number of readers have been kind enough to express their concern for our physical well-being, and their satisfaction at the quality of PEACE NEWS. Our best thanks to them.

Now, please keep the effort at this high level. It is tremendously heartening.

Yet as Lord Privy Seal Mr. Attlee, replying to a question asking for exactly the kind of statement he demanded of the Government in November last, said:

"... Members of the Government have on previous occasions stated our aims, and these will be elaborated at the appropriate time."

### Labour and the Church

That moral debacle is the last of a long series of capitulations made by the Labour Party in recent years.

At every stage in the deterioration of the international situation since 1914, the Labour Party has completely failed to get down to the roots of the trouble. It has persistently taken the line of least resistance, spurned the hard task of removing the causes of aggression, of the drive towards economic monopoly, the carving up of the world by the big Powers, and thus towards world war, world revolution and world totalitarianism. When the record of these fateful days comes to be written, the failure of the Labour Party to realize Britain's share of blame for the collapse of civilization after 1914 and her responsibility in the creation of a national and world economic democracy, will be described as one of the major calamities of history.

The Church, on the other hand, has steadily declined to diagnose the disease that has undermined Western civilization. It has wakened up at the horrors of Hitlerism, but it slumbered while the evils which gave rise to Hitlerism took deeper and deeper root.

### Only One Evil

It now declares, as do many former Christian pacifists, that it must choose between two evils, war and Hitlerism. In doing so it throws over the central principle of the Christian way of life. But in this the Church deceives itself. There are not two evils, as it says, but only one: Hitlerism and war are different manifestations of the same evil. And there is only one good, which is the way of creative goodwill, the righteousness which exalteth a nation.

Hitlerism springs from social exploitation, which in turn is the outcome of a pagan outlook, the esteeming of privilege and power above love, good will, a spiritual view of man and the things which flow from these: friendship, fellowship, and the joys of creative service. To support this war is to support one side of a conflict which has its origin in anti-social practices that are common to both sides, and which if persisted in will destroy democracy everywhere in the end.

It is the supreme mission of the Church to seek to supersede those evils by a manner of life which accords with Christian values, places man above the robotism to which all capitalism and not merely Hitlerism finally condemns him. In no other way can democracy be saved.

## The Case Against Reprisals

**T**HE following "good reasons, both practical and ethical, for objecting to the policy of deliberate terrorization of civilians through bombardment," were given in a letter from F. W. Stokoe on September 17 to *The Times*.

"Practical.—(1) Ruthless bombardment of civilians is uncertain in its effect. It may cow some; in others, and probably the majority, it rouses hatred and determination and stiffens resistance. This effect was apparent in the Spanish civil war. (2) The Germans could, and would, retort by intensified bombing of civilians here. At present, from fear of retaliation, they have not openly adopted the policy of deliberate wholesale slaughter of civilians. (3) If this policy is openly adopted by both sides the suffering caused by the war will be enormously augmented. I am inclined to think that at the moment the Germans could inflict more suffering on us than we on them, though later no doubt the scales would tip the other way. (4) If we adopted the

proposed policy of wholesale murder we should rightly forfeit the sympathy of neutrals, and of decent men the world over."

"Ethical.—(1) If we deliberately set ourselves the task of slaughtering the greatest possible number of civilians we reduce ourselves to the moral level of Nazi Germany, and our greatest asset in this war is lost. We can at present reasonably believe that we deserve to win because we are upholding a higher standard of truth and justice. Murderers of women and children have renounced that standard. (2) At present our airmen have the right to regard themselves as clean and honourable fighters. If they are made the instruments of a policy of terrorization they will have been deprived of that right. (3) To put such a policy into effect would stain our honour inefaceably. It would poison our minds with shame, and the minds of our enemies with inextinguishable hatred; and would go far to stultify the efforts of good men to create a saner world after the war."



## A Pacifist Commentary

Edited by "Observer"

## Propaganda Keeps up Morale :: Vicar Debunks War :: A Curious Position in India

**M**R. Ritchie Calder's story of the bombing of the East End is grim enough to moderate journalistic raptures about London's morale. London's eight millions are not as happy as sandboys under the ordeal. Nor can one humanly expect a high morale from people who are living under conditions which would be a disgrace to any society. Yet, as far as my information goes, morale—in the simple Blimp sense—is remarkably high, considering: as it is in Berlin.

"British air raids and nightly trips to shelters have been accepted philosophically. The average Berliner is fully convinced of the justification of bombing London, since he believes that the British bomb exclusively non-military objectives and the Germans exclusively military objectives."

That comes from an account, from neutral sources, of German morale in the *News Chronicle* (September 23). Propaganda, on either side, has done its work. It is a pitiful business. Why is it reckoned impossible, on either side, to tell the simple truth—that the accurate bombing of military objectives (which are plentiful anyhow in a great city) is an impossibility when the city is strongly defended? Why are the simple citizens of either country persuaded to believe that the enemy are just butchers?

### The Case of A. A. MILNE

**I**N 1934 Mr. A. A. Milne published *Peace with Honour*, one of the wittiest books ever written against war. In 1940 comes his recantation, *War with Honour* (MacMillan, 3d).

In the steeplechase to the goal of peace in which most of us are riding the pacifist has taken a bad toss, but it does not occur to him to jump on to old militarist and give his well-lashed flanks another whack. Why does Mr. Milne do it? He says the answer is "Hitler." That one word scribbled across the pages of *Peace with Honour* cancels, he says, its whole argument.

Since when has the adolescent imbecility of scribbling altered what is witty and wise? What has happened in Europe is important, but what has happened in the mind of Mr. Milne is more so.

In 1934 he deliberately restricted his argument to an attack on war as a social convention; unfortunately the restriction fastened itself also upon his mind. He fervently supports the idea of fighting Germany, without of course mentioning the Government under which it is necessary to fight. Perhaps even he remembered some of the things he wrote in 1934 about Mr. Winston Churchill.

He scarcely mentions the economic or political causes of this war, but only the faulty conclusions of some pacifists who at least made the attempt. He attacks the save-your-own-soul pacifists, but links the name of "Dick" Sheppard with them. Mercifully "Dick" Sheppard will be remembered as a love-at-all-costs pacifist long after the tergiversations of Mr. Milne are forgotten.

In spite of his famous indictment of the Church he now says Hitler is anti-Christ, and this a war for Christianity.

He urges the importance of Victory, meaning apparently the conquest of Germany. But how does a man of sense dare to speak in one breath of victory and Christianity?

Certainly it leaves Mr. Milne no breath even to consider the nightly obscenity of reciprocal air-raids, the sufferings of the refugees, the slaughter awaiting the armed landings here and in Europe. These Mr. Milne glosses over with smooth words about the use of force and resistance to evil. He says he wants to be an effective pacifist. So do we all; but to obscure the truth is not the way.

Stephen Usherwood

PRINTING AND PUBLICITY  
**W. J. FOWLER & SON**  
LIMITED  
245-7, CRICKLEWOOD BROADWAY  
Tel.: GLADSTONE 1234 LONDON, N.W.2  
100% Members Peace Pledge Union

**I**MUST congratulate *The Daily Herald* on its new contributor, the Rev. W. Rowland Jones, vicar of Denton, Manchester.

At any rate an article of his, "War has No Rules!" is a good, honest piece of writing, which effectively debunks the distinction between our virtue, in aiming at military objectives, and the Nazi vice, in missing them. The grim fact is that in total war, everything is a military objective. Says Mr. Jones:—

I have often set myself the following puzzle:—

Next door to a military camp with five hundred soldiers is a civilian hospital with five hundred patients.

The night marauder comes. Will it not help towards a speedier victory if the hospital is hit and the camp missed?

Ought I not on the day of National Prayer to ask God to send his wind and his air-currents to divert the bomb from military objects and send them into the fields; but if that is impossible at least upon civilian objectives.

Thus our brave fellows will be kept intact for the defence of Christianity

I haven't seen anything like that in the *Daily Herald* for many a long day.

### Bureaucratic Security

**T**HE outcry against the closing of the banks and the post-offices at the sound of the siren is well justified. At any rate it gives me an odd, uneasy sensation to see the promptitude with which our official institutions go to ground at the alarm.

Quite irrationally, perhaps, I have the feeling that official institutions, and officials, should set an example. Hang it all! (I say to myself) they are more secure than anybody else in these disjointed times: regular salaries, pensions, and I know not what. Must they be exposed to no risk at all? Are they so very precious? Are they precious at all (says my demon to me) when they are not performing their functions? *Noblesse oblige* was a great motto. It has sadly suffered in the days of bureaucracy. Bureaucratic security apparently entails no more obligations at all toward society. Musing on this, I anticipate the anti-thesis of the Marxist millennium, that is, when the State shall have withered away. I forebode the day when the State shall have devoured society altogether.

### Wendell Willkisms

**S**OME of Mr. Wendell Willkie's statements are curious. I was particularly interested in one—broadcast in the news—to the effect that he was completely opposed to the idea that the democracies should refuse to trade with the totalitarian countries. That would, on the face of it, appear to be a riposte to some development of Mr. Roosevelt's policy of which I have heard nothing: perhaps a suggestion of an Anglo-Saxon economic bloc. Or is it an indication that, if Mr. Willkie gets in, our blockade policy is to be challenged?

But many of Mr. Willkie's statements have an odd ring. Here is another that perplexes me. "We must aid Britain to the limit of prudence and effectiveness as determined by impartial experts in this field." Which field? The field of prudence and effectiveness? I might put in a modest claim to be an impartial expert there.

Yet again: "If Britain stops Germany, there might be uprisings against Hitler which would demoralize Europe." Perhaps it is all only an elaborate way of saying nothing. But it sounds queer.

### Big Business Morality?

**I**T sounds so queer, indeed, that I am tempted to suspect that all that Mr. Willkie—"the barefoot boy from Wall Street"—stands for is an old deal instead of a new one. A deal with

Britain, while there is good business to be done in armaments; a deal with Hitler, as soon as the European shop re-opens; and unlimited profits for big business all the while. A more naked version of Mr. Chamberlain's business isolation in fact.

Let us at least be clear, beforehand, that this has nothing to do with pacifism. Pacifism is implacably opposed to big business and all its works. And—if this diagnosis of Mr. Willkie be the true one—the pacifist will derive no satisfaction from America being kept out of the war on such motives. At the big business level of morality, it is definitely nobler for a nation to be in this war than out of it.

### Congress Tactics in India

**T**HE position of Congress in India, now that it has placed itself under Mr. Gandhi's leadership again, is curious and hardly edifying. It dissociated itself from Mr. Gandhi, and offered to abandon non-violence in return for self-government. Self-government being refused, it returns to non-violence and its philosopher-prophet.

But non-violence is not a political expedient (as Mr. Gandhi has declared again and again) but a religious conviction, a fundamental attitude toward life. Non-co-operation can be called on, and off, like a strike; it is a political weapon. Non-violence is not. In offering to support the war in return for self-government, Congress definitely abandoned non-violence. It can hardly expect that its return to it will be treated with great respect. And it is not easy to see how Mr. Gandhi will handle the situation.

But one thing seems certain that Mr. Gandhi's hold over the Congress movement will be vastly strengthened. It has in fact capitulated to him.

### That Colour Bar

**I**AM glad to see that a goodly number of eminent ecclesiastics have endorsed my criticism of the British attitude towards the colour-bar: that we condemn, in theory, the Nazi doctrine of racial superiority, but in practice follow it.

## ALDOUS HUXLEY on The Conditions for Pacifism

**I**N Australia, as everywhere else, pacifism cannot become a policy until and unless it is well established as a personal code for a majority of individuals and as the rule governing economic and social relations within groups.

It looks to me as though one of the essential conditions for pacifism on the economic and social plane (and by extension on the political and international planes) were decentralization and the encouragement of subsistence living and small-scale industry.

Democracy can only exist where the majority are economically independent of private or public authority, and peaceful policies are most easily pursued where the masses of the people cannot be manipulated by powerful individuals or minority groups. The whole trend of economics and social organization in recent years has been towards increased centralization and away from democracy and the social climate in which pacifism flourishes most easily.

**T**HERE is little or no hope for political pacifism so long as economic centralization and political tyranny persist. And there is no hope of decentralization and democracy so long as people passionately desire the things and the states of mind which are given us by mass-production and centralization.

You can't have anything for nothing; the price we pay for cars, radio, movies, newspapers, canned food and the like is increasing political tyranny and risk of war. To preach a policy

The Archbishops, the leaders of the Free Churches and Cardinal Hinsley put it more politely, but it comes to the same thing. "We recognize that in the Nazi creed of racial domination we are confronted with an evil doctrine that could only bring misery and injustice in its train. In repudiating it we are following our tradition, but it may be we have not realized what is involved by complete fidelity to it." I think my own statement clearer; but the Church leaders at least demand "a concentrated effort to remove the barriers of race and colour which exist today in British colonies." (I wonder whether the omission of Dominions was intentional).

They should send a copy of their letter to the Government of South Africa.

### Master of Balliol on C.O.s

**S**IGNIFICANTLY, *Picture Post* (September 21) has a valuable article by the Master of Balliol on "The Sack for Conscientious Objectors?" The answer is "No." Most pacifists, I think, will feel that the general attitude expressed by Mr. Lindsay is generous. The point at which they may hesitate is his sweeping criticism of the absolutist.

"Some pacifists claim and are granted absolute exemption. I have never been able to see the case for absolute exemption. There is a class of pacifists I have come across who take the line that they can entirely disregard the war, and, because they think war sinful, should be allowed to go on as if it did not exist. This claim to stand outside the world's tragedy seems to me preposterous. It is certainly un-Christian."

I agree with the last two sentences. But Mr. Lindsay is mistaken in thinking that this attitude is typical of the absolutist. The few I know are very deeply concerned to take their share in the common hardship, they find ways of taking it; but they refuse to let the State decide for them how they shall take it. It is unfair to identify absolutists as a class with those "who make the bland assumption that they should suffer no disadvantage in holding views at variance with society."

There are absolutists and absolutists, of course; Mr. Lindsay seems to have met the worse sort.

of pacifism in the economic and social circumstances of the present is like preaching the advantages of sea bathing to people in the middle of the Sahara.

I am afraid that the pacifist must start with individuals and small groups and not with governments, at the periphery and not at the political centre. There are no short cuts via alliances, treaties, covenants and the like.

**T**HE chances that the world will get out of its difficulties in an undisturbed way seem to grow progressively smaller.

The pacifist can only work patiently in the field in which he has some chance of achieving something—that of individual behaviour and the economic and social relations of groups. If there is a smash, he may hope that his small scale organization may survive and serve, as the monastic orders did during the Dark Ages, as fertile centres of new civilization.

Meanwhile, the discussion of large-scale policy for governments, though interesting and instructive, is not of prime importance for the individual pacifist, for the good reasons that he is not in a position to influence his government and that the majority, composed as it is of non-pacifists, is in a state of mind which makes the acceptance of pacifist policies, with the price involved, psychologically impossible—in spite of the fact that the alternative entails the payment of a yet higher price.

—from *The Peacemaker*, Australia.



## The agony of BLOCKADE

Prince Max of Baden was appointed Chancellor of Germany, when in 1918 the collapse of the German Army was imminent. His reputation as a man of honour and integrity was beyond challenge. Therefore, his considered statement of the effects of the British blockade may be accepted as absolutely true.

**M**AY the atrocities on both sides during the war be forgotten; but I do not hesitate today to repeat the bitter words which I used in February, 1919, at the time when our enemies were still killing 800 German non-combatants daily with perfect deliberation.

"The Entente is no longer in a position to say that it is being misled regarding the effect of the blockade by war statistics. The whole of Germany lies open to an impartial investigation of the food situation: trouble has also been taken to place irrefutable scientific evidence in the hands of the Entente which shows:

"(1) That about 800 human beings in Germany are dying every day from the effects of the blockade;

"(2) That in many centres the mortality among young children has almost doubled;

"(3) That the harvest of tuberculosis among children and growing youths in the big cities is twice as large as before the war, while the death-rate of mothers from puerperal fever has increased by two-thirds for the whole of Germany;

"(4) That doctors are helpless in face of many curable cases of illness, because they lack the necessary medicines and foods;

"(5) That as a result of underfeeding the whole population is suffering from a nervous exhaustion, which paralyses initiative and weakens moral restraint.

"(6) That hundreds of thousands of mothers are not in a position to nurse their convalescent children back into health because they cannot feed them up; that the result in many cases is life-long infirmity; and that, in a word the vitality of the growing generation has been sapped at the root...."

This state of affairs, Prince Max goes on to state, continued long after the Armistice, when there was no longer the excuse of "war necessity" for prolonging the agony of the German civil population. He adds:

"Our former enemies are now giving us to understand that they are getting tired of our fight against an outlawry... I fear that they must bear with us until the Peace of Versailles, built as it is on the lie of war guilt, is revised—against that lie the German people ought to fight on a single front."

—From The Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden. Vol. I, Constable (1928).

## Refuge for Raid Victims

**D**EVONSHIRE pacifists are trying to give refuge to those from London whose minds and bodies are suffering from the air war.

At the Community Centre in Ashburton they have arranged to take immediately ten persons—wives and children of members of the P.P.U., Friends of FoR. Another empty house has been offered at Buckfastleigh.

At Ashburton the need is for household materials, including mattresses, camp beds, etc. They should be sent to Saint-Bridget, West Street, Ashburton, Devon. At Buckfastleigh definite guarantees from individuals and organizations are needed to meet a rental of £50 a year. All money and cheques should be sent to the Treasurer, Caecilia E. M. Pugh, at Saint-Bridget, or to E. C. Maddax (Devon and Cornwall P.P.U. Organizer), 169 Broadlands Avenue, Newton Abbot, Devon.

### Women's Peace Campaign

It had been arranged that the conference on Peace Talks: When will they be opportune? which Dick Stokes, M.P. and Mary Gamble had promised to address should take place on October 4, but the transport situation etc. makes it necessary to postpone it. It is hoped, however, that it may be possible to announce a date soon.

# Why are we Fighting?

asks

**A. GERRARD**

**T**HE war against Hitlerism has been going on for a year. Twelve months ago this country through its elected representatives decided that Hitler was a menace to civilization and "all that Britain stands for," and that the only way to resist him was by force of arms.

Since 1918 it has been universally taught that war "wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing," so that when after 20 years of that teaching, one's country plunges into war, one can be forgiven for assuming that the peoples who participate in it must have extremely good reasons for so doing. But if one attempts to discover those reasons, either from the Government or from the people, one is met with an obstinate silence on the part of the former, and a vague jumble of such words as liberty, freedom, existence, on the part of the latter.

The persistent inquirer, however, after careful questioning manages to eliminate most of these ready-made answers and discovers one idea which seems most popular—and it hinges on the word torture. Now torture is no new thing in world-history, which is full of tales of inhumanity to man, but it is one of those things which men believed had disappeared with the Dark Ages. It is repugnant to the ordinary mind. One asks, therefore, how has it been possible to revive this ugly practice? Hitler has been using it as an instrument of policy since 1933, Mussolini since 1926, and Stalin for about the same length of time. It must be repeated, the idea is repugnant to the ordinary mind. Why then has it been allowed a rebirth? The explanation I think follows somewhat on these lines.

**T**HE people have not been aware that such a thing has been going on. The individuals who control the sources of information and mould public opinion, decided for reasons which cannot be discovered, that the people must not be told—until the oracles became alive to the fact that they might find themselves in the torture chamber, and the people, who might have arisen and demanded their release, would be quite ignorant of what was happening.

Only then, quietly and subtly, were the masses told the truth about concentration camps, and to convince those who might doubt the accuracy and veracity of the press, the Government issued a White Paper on the subject. Now the people were stirred. They rubbed their eyes and said, "This is an outrage on human decency," and as always when moved, they demanded that something be done about it; or rather, individually they got worked up, but collectively they just did nothing.

That, of course, was left to the press, who as usual proved themselves past masters in the art of stirring the people. The Germans themselves were not aware of what was being perpetrated in their name, and even had they known would not have acted to any effect. It is not sufficient to reply that the German is easily regimented and happiest when he has but to obey. No, this failure on the part of the people to insist that their wishes be carried out is a feature of any country whether totalitarian or democratic, and the remedy lies not in war or revolution but in education.

Were the people taught their obligations and duties as well as their rights in citizenship, and a social conscience created, freedom and democracy would never "perish from the earth." Hitler and his henchmen have been able to terrorize and intimidate a whole nation simply because individually the people were selfish and apathetic while collectively they were ignorant and helpless.

### Tyrannous technique

**T**HE following footnote to an individual tragedy of the London raids was related by Ritchie Calder in the Daily Herald on September 10.

A young masseuse in a London hospital was trapped beneath debris for 16 hours. Although in great pain, she bore up bravely while a rescue squad worked to release her, but, just as the sirens wailed again over the city, she died.

In a postscript Calder wrote: While they were at work I had found among the ruins a book by Dick Sheppard which had been flung clear by the force of the explosion and which lay with a child's teddy bear at the foot of a statue in the middle of the courtyard.

It contained the inscription, "With glad and proud thanksgiving from Father, January, 1940."

It was open at a poem quoted from Siegfried Sassoon which read: Lord God of cruelties incomprehensible

And randomized damnations indefensible,  
Perfect in us thy tyrannous technique  
For torturing the innocent and weak.

**T**HESE are the conditions under which Hitlerism flourishes and, like influenza, it is always with us, and we must be constantly on the alert to recognize the symptoms and prevent an epidemic.

The latest evidence of the universality of Hitlerism comes from America where Henry Ford has been employing strong armed gangs to terrorize those of his employees with trade union sympathies, and to intimidate trade union officials who might attempt to persuade the men to organize. A report of their inquiries into the matter has just been issued by the National Labour Relations Board, which body has ordered Ford to cease these practices.

But what on earth were 3,000 to 4,000 men (about the size of a Ford factory), thinking about to allow small squads to bully them so? One explanation, no doubt, is that most of them would not want to join a trade union anyway, but surely they should have been alive to the fact that the whole principle of the thing is contrary to democratic ideals, especially in America, where they pride themselves on being "the greatest democracy in the world." If that is how the Americans defend their democracy they had better look out, because Hitler is abroad!

One asks, where is the point in fighting the Nazis so fanatically? If we defeat them, we have not eradicated Hitlerism. It is here in our midst and is not to be destroyed by the bombing plane.

## Respite Finem

wars of religion, we settled our parochial version of that fearful conflict and got on with the job of snapping up unconsidered trifles—which eventually we dignified with the name of Empire-building. We were first men in the world of modern industrialism: and became what Napoleon called "a nation of shopkeepers."

There was a horrid amount of truth in it. We got through the first round of revolutionary national wars on the cheap.

The instincts and values of the nation of shopkeepers have bedevilled our policy ever since. Symbolically, our policy during the last crucial years was dictated by the most perfect specimen of the type we have produced—Mr. Neville Chamberlain. We chose him to lead us through the pitfalls of a Europe which, whatever it had done, had repudiated the economic man altogether. The historian of the future will hardly know what to make of us.

And yet—so far as one can tell—we are going blindly on, in the hope that one day, when the miracle has happened, we shall dictate terms to Eur-

## JOHN BARCLAY on The Bond of Peace

**S**INCE the beginning of September I have travelled pretty widely—if somewhat slowly—North, South, and West of London, and during October I expect to travel still further. There is a far greater warmth of fellowship and better understanding of unity within the movement now than previously. No longer is war the cause of academic discussion but the reality that all are facing together. A tightening of the bonds of peace has drawn us together in spirit, and the activity demanded from us as individuals has given a new sense of drive and purpose to our meetings.

London has been the centre of the worst bombing raids, and has made most demands on its groups; but Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham have all shared similar blows. Pacifist service has taken on a new meaning and pacifist fellowship has entered a new phase. The misery of homeless people living in tubes and shelters, or, as I saw them last Sunday, wandering in the rain in the lanes of Hertfordshire, has been seized on by the press and BBC and made to appear in an heroic mould. Some of us have always accepted the heroism and demanded that it should be given a channel along which to express itself constructively, peacefully, and with hope of attaining a new and finer mould. Parts of Lon-

### London Area Members Please Note

The London P.P.U. groups' area meeting which was arranged as usual for October 1 has been postponed to Sunday, October 6, at 3 p.m. It will be held in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, W.I.

don have been so badly hit that only a full-scale evacuation would meet the case. In all this chaos and in the efforts being made to alleviate the results, pacifists are pulling their full weight.

If we are to be of real service to a bewildered and tired people, we must do more than relieve their pain. We have a primary duty to inspire a new hope and deliver a message to those who are suffering so greatly. Have we the power to create within our groups now the necessary spiritual dynamic which because we are sharing the full horror of our time can be understood by those who do not share our pacifism? I think we have. Pacifist service is more than feeding hungry people. It must find a way to fill them with a longing to feed their enemies. The task is not beyond us if we can keep our heads as well as our hearts.

Our readers will be concerned and grieved to hear that Andrew Stewart, who generously resigned his position on Peace News when a reduction of staff suddenly became necessary, has received a second blow. He is now in hospital undergoing a serious operation.

continued from page 1

ope, in virtue of our merit in having tried to blockade it indiscriminately. (Why an indiscriminate blockade should be morally superior to an indiscriminate bombing is a mystery of British morality). Friends, neutrals, and foes—all alike shall be starved if we can starve them. The hungrier they are, the happier they will be: as they pull in their belts, they will know that deliverance is so much nearer. Deliverance into what?

That we dare not think about. Who will keep order in this future Europe, and how? It doesn't bear thinking about. And, in any case, it would be better to think about probabilities instead. On one point, however, common sense and morality continue to advise us to eschew illusion. If, by some strange chance, Europe should be forced to surrender through our blockade, we could do nothing with the remains. Its deliverance would come from the East. If the blockade should fail, we shall have played Hitler's game; if it succeeds, Stalin's; but by no conceivable chance our own. How could we, anyhow, seeing we have not got one?



## Circulation Notes

## Problems of the Countryside

By John W. Cowling

**P**ROGRESSIVE movements meet some of their greatest problems in rural areas. Not only does a scattered population put the would-be propagandist at a disadvantage, but he is sometimes less likely to get a sympathetic reception.

With this in mind, I think we can be proud of the work of P.P.U. groups in small country towns in re-organizing the distribution of Peace News and in increasing its circulation. Some of them, in fact, put much larger towns to shame!

## A Good Example

A typical example is Faversham, in East Kent, where there are about fifteen signatories of the Peace Pledge. Mr. C. P. Salmon, the Faversham Peace News secretary, reports:

"We started with nine readers, and now have 25. Some of these new readers are PPU members who did not previously take the paper, but seven of them were obtained by the following method:

"I have ordered slightly in excess of actual readers, and have then sent a copy to a known sympathizer, with a covering letter pointing out what a welcome change Peace News is from the daily press, and asking them to take it for say three weeks, on trial, at a cost of 6d. On the following Friday I call with the current issue.

"This is generally successful, although of course I can't expect it to be so always. But so far I have only had two refusals. I have written different letters in each case.

"I believe there is a tremendous field for making new readers in this way, especially among socialists, sincere Christians, and even among some who lean towards communism.

## Hard Work Tells

The Sidmouth group, in South Devon, has managed by equally hard work to build up the paper's circulation locally. In a district of some 10,000 inhabitants there are only twelve signatories—eight of whom are active. Yet their order for Peace News recently increased from eighteen to 24! The paper is delivered by hand, except in the case of isolated readers, to whom it is posted.

Such good results, achieved in areas where the difficulties are great, should encourage groups everywhere to maintain and increase their efforts on behalf of their own paper.

The Scarborough Advisory Bureau secretary is now Miss Elsie King, of 27 Candler Street, Scarborough.

## What Does



## ★ Stand For? ★

**A** FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (June 21) or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

The chief officers of the Union are:—Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood; Treasurer: Maurice L. Rowntree; Secretary: Stuart D. Morris.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:—

Vera Brittain; George M. L. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragg.

For further particulars write PPU headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 8 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

## THE NEW COMMUNITY

By

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

**I**N a letter to an Australian correspondent which we print on page 2, Mr. Aldous Huxley re-emphasizes the view, which he has developed in his recent writing, that "there is little or no hope for pacifism so long as economic centralization and political tyranny persist."

Under political tyranny he evidently, and rightly, includes existing mass-democracy; and he preaches—as others have done before him, notably Professor J. W. Scott—the formation of subsistence communities: not of the reactionary and primitive sort, but making appropriate use of the small machine. These would be living centres of a real economic and political democracy.

## A Positive Policy

It is, I think, a pity that the pacifist movement has not more generally accepted the view that its positive policy should be directed toward the formation of subsistence communities at the small-machine level. In so far as it has accepted the practical idea of community at all, it has tended to accept it in the idealistic or semi-monastic form, with an excessively exacting emphasis upon the community.

For my own part, I believe that the family is the basic unit of the new community; and that what is to be aimed at is a community of separate families at the new level of technique. A number of families practising subsistence agriculture, and each possessing some other specific craft (practised individually or co-operatively) whereby they produced most of the commodities necessary to simple and satisfying existence, would be grouped, each in its own homestead, around the communal buildings: of which the two chief would be the central store and the community-hall, or church.

By a simple system of token-money issued solely for internal circulation such a community could be largely isolated from the devastation of the capitalist market. True, it would be deeply concerned with the disposal of its communal surpluses, for these would be its only means of acquiring purchasing-power in the external market. In fact, it would behave, in miniature, very much as the self-subsistent totalitarian countries are compelled to behave in order to accumulate free exchange.

## Standards of Living

But, it will be objected, the standard of living would be lower than in the surrounding society.

First, I ask: Whose standard of living? The man of £1,000 a year who joined such a community would certainly find his standard of living lowered. But that standard of living mainly consists in unnecessary expenses of his status. I doubt whether the actual living of himself or his family would be impoverished in any degree; I believe it would even be enriched.

And, secondly, the whole conception of "standard of living" is radically

## PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement Offices:

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

## Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3s. 3d. Yearly, 12s. 6d.  
Abroad: Quarterly, 2s. 9d. Yearly 10s. 6d.

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Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Registered Office, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and printed for them by C. A. Bone & Co. Ltd., 463 Harrow Road, London, W.10.

vicious. It is abstract and mechanical. If I eat a simple meal grown in my own garden which at the outside costs me 6d., my "standard of living" is but one-tenth of what it is when I pay 5s. for a meal in a restaurant; but, judged by any criterion of authentic life, I am living at just as high a level in my cottage as I should be in the restaurant.

If we are concerned with real life-values, we must begin by dethroning this capitalist fetish of the "standard of living." It is entirely misleading. And, judged even by capitalist standards, the standard of living of the craftsman-worker within such a community would be definitely raised.

There are more solid objections. Not less than fifty families which "knew what they fought for and loved what they knew" would be required to give the effort sufficient body and enough internal variety. Secondly, the capital expenditure would be heavy; I should estimate it at £300 per family at present values. Thirdly under the full pressure of total war, the obstacles in the way of a real beginning are tremendous, and in a sense quite insuperable.

## Great Opportunities

On the other hand, the present opportunities for pacifists to prepare themselves for beginning are considerable.

This, I think, should be the real aim of the temporary pacifist land-community—to prepare its members for membership of the islanded community of the future; and the provision of a temporary refuge for those relegated to work on the land should be regarded as merely incidental to this long-term purpose. There should be within the pacifist movement a group of people working—wherever possible in close collaboration with non-pacifists who are in sympathy with the idea—on the structure of the islanded community, and preparing plans for it.

This is the moment to take advantage of the change in the psychological attitude toward work upon the land. For what is happening—under duress, indeed, but still it is happening—is that the scales of mere money-valuation are falling from men's eyes. More and more a commodity—from a jar of honey to a good hammer—is being revealed as what it is, as distinct from what it will fetch.

Use-value is being separated from exchange value. The old socialist slogan: production for use, instead of production for profit, is losing much of its former abstraction.

(To be concluded)

## War or Peace Propaganda?

**W**HEN I read such a leaflet as that entitled "Mightier Yet," which is now being circulated by the Ministry of Information through Woolworth's, I am surprised that it should be thought for a moment to be good war propaganda.

The inhuman element of war is here so undisguised that I am confident that it may prove a "tap," if not actually a push, in the pacifist direction. An array of ominous shells exists in all countries, and in all they spell one phrase, "death-dealing," naked and unashamed. The imagination is not warmed to enthusiasm by anything so cold as skilfully designed instruments of death.

Then, when we come to the description of the English workers working with zeal to make these things, because, in contrast to Germany's "slaves," they are free, the mind of many of us, who have seen countless numbers of our own people who have been free only to rot in the wretched quarters of our cities, or to enjoy a sallow anaemic childhood through malnutrition in our rural areas, will have a wry taste in our brain like that occasioned by an unripe sloe-berry on the tongue.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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## SITUATION VACANT

MARKET gardening. Opportunity occurs to learn business with option of renting and buying later. Permanent livelihood assured.—Box 530, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

CO. 24, wishes to join small community, just starting preferred, or work among evacuees; no salary. Box 533, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST (20) requires situation with accountant, North England or Scotland; Secondary School education; experience of Accountancy, Book Keeping, Shorthand, Typewriting.—Box 500 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

WILL ANY FARMER offer employment to agricultural labourer, CO. some general experience, knowledge milking machine; seeks thorough training; wife also wants whole or part-time employment.—Box 532, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

## WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s. double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.

WINTER in Devon; raid-free corner; accommodation at home of pacifists; 50s. weekly, period 45s. Carpenter, Knowle, Trusham, Devon.

## MISCELLANEOUS

A SMALL Modern School is being opened in delightful surroundings in mid-Wales early in October; graduate staff; interested parents please write for Prospectus.—Box 534, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

CITY PPU Group continues to meet every Friday at 1.10 p.m. in the vestry of St. Margaret's Lothbury, E.C.2.

HARROW Weald, pacifists, furnished rooms, two or three with attendance, adaptable. Moderate charges.—Box 529 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

MISS J. D. Wallington (and Mrs. Helen Whitcomb), health practitioner, osteopath bone-setter treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1. (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way, North Letchworth.

NEW school-community, Berkshire downs: reverence for the individual; co-operation between home and school; natural methods health and soil cultivation. Alderwood House, Greenham Common, Nr. Newbury. (Hedley 209).

PACIFIST FAMILY in safe area offer home to girl (age 7 to 9) from danger area for period of war.—Box 535, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

WIDOW (40's) offers lady share small modern home; no rent, large garden. Companion-ship; economy. Eleven miles Birmingham.—Box 531, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Again, did we not just before the outbreak of war decide against a few more shillings a week for the aged?—and yet this leaflet tells us proudly that our Empire covers "a quarter" of the earth's surface! Incidentally are we not also here given a clue as to why the rest of the world should at least be tempted to feel some "envy, hatred, and malice" towards us?

But perhaps I am making a mistake; as a pacifist I ought not, even inadvertently, to make myself instructor to the Ministry as to how to write a leaflet that (through a better camouflage of unpalatable truths,) will go down better. When we recollect that it was the common people—such as went shopping in the popular cheap bazaars of the East—who heard Christ gladly, with his message of "life and life more abundantly," we can take heart.

Even today a message of death-dealing, and death more abundant will not, I fancy, bring about the reaction intended. For the common people at heart are, I believe, always nearer the Kingdom of Heaven than they are credited with being.

ROSA HOBHOUSE